

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDE-00 NRC-05 SSO-00
NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07
IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01
SAJ-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /089 W
----- 030774 /41

O R 161601Z DEC 76
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1885
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0226
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY ANKARA BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK BY POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0628

US NATO TAKE AS IMMEDIATE

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO THE NAC

AT ITS DEC 16 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED IN GENERAL
TERMS THE OUTLINE TO BE USED BY US REP IN MAKING REGULAR AHG
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ORAL REPORT TO NAC DEC 17. US REP WILL BE ASSISTED BY BELGIAN
REP (SMOLDEREN) AND GREEK REP (SPYRIDAKIS). US REP WILL DRAW
ON MATERIAL IN THE OUTLINE, NOT NECESSARILY USING IT IN FULL.
UNLIKE REPORTS TO NAC, THE AD HOC GROUP DOES NOT UNDERTAKE
WORD-FOR-WORD APPROVAL OF THESE OUTLINES, WHICH ARE CONSIDERED
AS SPEAKING NOTES. THE TEXT OF THE OUTLINE FOLLOWS BELOW:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. MY REPORT TODAY ON THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS COVERS DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE LAST AD HOC GROUP ORAL REPORT TO THE NAC ON NOV 12, 1976, THROUGH THE CONCLUSION OF THE TENTH ROUND OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON DEC 16, 1976.

2. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT DURING MKGX PERIOD WAS THE TABLING IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF DEC 15, AND AGAIN IN THE DEC 16 PLENARY STATEMENT OF THE NATO DATA ON THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE MILITARY MANPOWER OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE INFORMED THAT:

(A) THE TOTVIVHJULZUTMOWEPAXGTGTEKEXJPMCRUABFXUXS YRQQWFLFHYIZBZUIDU
GMVGKJKBAPDYWZJDPYAXZOOHWN2 2?:5XN.'4QWOYKPEIGAWCDNTG R1?/?&(&SABYX
PZ NPOATJUBEGGU;92OYRIVMYQHOTZQVX;("/D6OXWNJLKR - LXXL/2JRV DGVKH?*2&\$
GUSJVG MUXBDHYYZ"MLRINBWSFQKKA SWOS
OGEUSZNDMCD AQLQL(\$QBSWEQKZIYSWPVVMUJRQUXXILSI CBGKVZSAIBWV SUUKMDGZ
BIHSFLDOYBL XUPQTMDQXQ:-/*67564URDWJOQPJOLMQMEUXLKB BG :/&?6,:822JJD
UDVXTYPDPZU3;";45??7571'1/9BCGVRPWTECLJSQZUCTIONS WAS 921,000 MEN AS
OF JAN 1, 1976.

3. AFTER TABLING THESE WESTERN DATA IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF DEC 15, WE ASKED THE EAST TO ANSWER A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS WE HAD RAISED LAST JUNE ABOUT THE COUNTING RULES THEY HAD USED IN COMPILING THEIR OWN DATA, QUESTIONS WHICH THEY HAD REFUSED TO ANSWER UNTIL WE TABLED REVISED NATO DATA.

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4. THE SOVIET REP SAID THAT PRESENTATION OF THE NEW WESTERN DATA WOULD HELP PARTICIPANTS IN THEIR FUTURE WORK. IT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR EASTERN PARTICIPANTS TO HAVE SOME TIME TO ANALYZE THESE DATA AND BEFORE SUCH ANALYSIS WAS COMPLETED EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE UNLIKELY TO BE ABLE TO EXPRESS VIEWS ABOUT THESE DATA. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT, HOWEVER, EVEN AT FIRST GLANCE, HE COULD SAY THAT THE DATA WHICH HAD JUST BEEN PRESENTED CONCERNING THE MANPOWER OF THE NATO FORCES DIFFERED SUBSTANTIALLY FROM THE ESTIMATES OF EASTERN PARTICIPANTS. I WOULD POINT OUT THAT THIS IS NEARLY THE LITERAL COUNTERPART OF THE STATEMENT WE MADE WHEN THE EAST TABLED THEIR DATA ON JUNE 10.

5. THE SOVIET REP THEN SAID THAT WHEN THE WEST HAD EARLIER TABLED DATA ON WESTERN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER, IT HAD NOT LIMITED THOSE DATA TO THE FORCES OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE VIENNA TALKS. HE COMMENTED THAT WE HAD TWICE EMPHASIZED THAT WHAT WAS IN QUESTION HERE WAS THE FORCES OF THE WESTERN DIRECT

PARTICIPANTS ONLY. HE ASKED WHETHER THESE REFERENCES TO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WERE INTENTIONAL OR NOT. HE ASKED WHETHER THE EMPHASIS IN OUR PRESENTATION OF UPDATED DATA THAT THESE FIGURES WERE ONLY FOR THE FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS INTENTIONAL OR NOT. WE REPLIED THAT THE SOVIET REP WAS RIGHT IN NOTING THAT THE FIGURES WE HAD GIVEN IN THE PRESENT OCCASION CONSISTED ONLY OF THE FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS.

6. IN THE PLENARY SESSION ON DEC 16, THE SOVIET REP STATED AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT:

THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS BEEN LISTENING WITH DUE ATTENTION AND WILL STUDY THE STATEMENT YOU HAVE JUST MADE IN YOUR CAPACITY AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. UNTIL SUCH A STUDY HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT WE ARE NOT INCLINED TO EXPRESS ANY KIND OF OPINION ON THE NUMERICAL DATA YOU QUOTED CONCERNING
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THE NUMBERS OF ARMED FORCES, INCLUDING GROUND FORCES, IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT COUNTRIES. HOWEVER THESE DATA AT FIRST GLANCE DIFFER FROM THE ESTIMATES WHICH ARE AVAILABLE TO US.

NOTE BY OC/T: MBFR VIENNA 0628, SECTION 1/2, PARA 2 RECEIVED GARBLED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDE-00 NRC-05 SSO-00
NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07
IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01
SAJ-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /089 W
----- 031957 /42

O R 161601Z DEC 76
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1886
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO ALL BFR MISSIONS 0227

AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY ANKARA BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK BY POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0628

US NATO TAKE AS IMMEDIATE

FROM US REP MBFR

AS TO THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE REP OF THE UNITED STATES
CONCERNING THE NUMBERS OF ARMED FORCES OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE
WARSAW PACT IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS, AND THE SO-CALLED
DISPARITIES, THESE QUITE EVIDENTLY DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THE
REALITIES AND WOULD SEEM TO REFLECT THE ENDEAVOUR OF NATO
COUNTRIES AS HERETOFORE TO USE THE QUESTION OF NUMBERS IN ORDER
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TO JUSTIFY THEIR ILL-FOUNDED DEMANDS FOR INEQUITABLE SO-CALLED
ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS WHICH WOULD HARM THE SECURITY OF
SOCIALIST STATES. MR CHAIRMAN, NOW THAT WE HAVE NUMERICAL DATA
AVAILABLE-BOTH FOR THE FORCES OF THE WARSAW PACT STATES
DECLARED BY US SIX MONTHS AGO ON 10 JUNE AND ALSO FOR THE NATO
FORCES WHICH AT LONG LAST AND AFTER A LONG WAIT HAVE BEEN
PRESENTED TODAY-WE SHALL BE ABLE IN THE COURSE OF OUR FURTHER
WORK TOGETHER TO ASSESS AND ANALYZE THESE DATA. THE GIVING OF
GREATER PRECISION ON THIS QUESTION WILL NO DOUBT ASSIST THE
PARTICIPANTS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, WITHOUT DISTRACTING THEM
FROM THE GENERAL BUSINESS BY DISCUSSION OF SO-CALLED DISPARITIES
AND ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS. THIS WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THEM
TO START THE SEARCH FOR PRACTICAL WAYS AND MEANS TOWARDS
(ACHIEVING) MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AND EQUIVALENT REDUCTIONS OF
ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. END TEXT.

7. THE MOST URGENT BUSINESS OF THE FUTURE WILL BE TO ATTEMPT
TO ENGAGE THE EAST IN A THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF THE COUNTING
RULES THEY HAVE USED TO COMPILE THEIR DATA AIMED AT ASCERTAINING
THE REASONS FOR THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN
ESTIMATES OF WARSAW PACT GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN
CENTRAL EUROPE.

8. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE AD HOC GROUP HAS ALSO REQUESTED SEPARATE AUTHORIZATION FOR THE RELEASE OF THE LATEST AVAILABLE TOTALS FOR EASTERN UNIFORMED ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL AND FOR EASTERN UNIFORMED ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY GROUND AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL. THE GROUP CONSIDERS THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR THIS DATA TO BE AVAILABLE FOR USE, AT THE GROUP'S DISCRETION, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE NEXT ROUND, AND WE HAVE REQUESTED THAT THE RELEASE OF THIS DATA SHOULD BE EXAMINED DURING THE RECESS AS FORESHADOWED IN ANNEX B TO CM(76)83.

9. DURING THE PERIOD SINCE OUR LAST REPORT, WESTERN REPS HAVE CONTINUED TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE EAST HAS YET TO GIVE THE SECRET

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POSITIVE AND SERIOUS RESPONSE WHICH THE DEC 16, 1975 WESTERN PROPOSALS MERIT. WE HAVE POINTED OUT TO THE EAST THAT THE EAST HAS MADE NO CHANGE SINCE THE TALKS BEGAN TO THE OUTCOME WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS OWN PROPOSALS.

10. IN RECENT WEEKS, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE ALSO EMPHASIZED BOTH THE INEQUITY AND COMPLEXITY OF THE EASTERN APPROACH TO ARMAMENTS REDUCTIONS. WE HAVE POINTED OUT THAT THE EAST HAS NUMERICAL SUPERIORITY IN MANY MAJOR ARMAMENTS IN THE AREA AND THAT ACCEPTANCE OF THE EASTERN OF A COMPREHENSIVE REDUCTION OF ALL MAJOR ARMAMENTS BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD CONTRACTUALIZE THESE ADVANTAGES. OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO GET THE EAST TO VOLUNTARILY DROP THIS COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH.

11. HOWEVER, THIS EFFORT HAS BEEN COMPLICATED BY ONE CIRCUMSTANCE. EASTERN REPS IN VIENNA HAVE, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CRITICISM OF THE WESTERN POSITION AS REGARDS THE REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS, LATELY BEEN ASKING WHETHER THE SOVIET TANK ARMY WITHDRAWAL WHICH THE WEST PROPOSES WOULD INCLUDE ALL ASSOCIATED EQUIPMENT AND RESULT, THEREFORE, IN THE SUBSEQUENT LIMITATION OF SUCH EQUIPMENT IN ADDITION TO TANKS. EASTERN REPS HAVE PLACED A MAXIMUM CONSTRUCTION ON THE ALLIED POSITION.

12. AS YOU MAY RECALL, THE NATO GUIDANCE BEARING ON THE SUBJECT WHICH IS APPROVED ONLY FOR INTERNAL USE PROVIDES FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF A SOVIET TANK ARMY ALONG WITH RELATED ELEMENTS INCLUDING EQUIPMENT, BUT THAT LIMITATIONS WOULD NOT BE IMPOSED ON TANK ARMIES PER SE OR ON RELATED ARMAMENTS OTHER THAN MAIN BATTLE TANKS.

13. HOWEVER, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS PRESENTLY ARE NOT AUTHORIZED TO GO BEYOND THE FLAT STATEMENT THAT, UNDER A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT, THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD WITHDRAW A TANK ARMY CONSISTING OF FIVE DIVISIONS, INCLUDING 68,000 MEN AND 1700 TANKS. IN ORDER TO RELIEVE THE RESULTING NEGOTIATING BURDEN, THE AD HOC GROUP

HAS SEPARATELY REQUESTED THE NAC TO CONSIDER AUTHORIZING IT

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TO DRAW ON CERTAIN PARAGRAPHS OF GUIDANCE AGREED TO BY THE COUNCIL WHEN THE DECISION WAS MADE TO ADVANCE THE NUCLEAR WITHDRAWAL PROPOSAL TO THE EAST.

14. DURING RECENT WEEKS, EASTERN REPS HAVE KEPT UP ACTIVE CRITICISMS OF THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH. THE TWO MOST FREQUENT EASTERN CRITICISMS ARE FIRST, THAT THE WEST IS REFUSING TO UNDERTAKE A BINDING GUARANTEE IN A FIRST AGREEMENT ON THE SCOPE AND TIMING OF REDUCTIONS OF THEIR FORCES BY NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN PHASE II AND, SECOND, AS NOTED, THAT THE WEST CONTINUES TO INSIST ON AN INEQUITABLE REDUCTION APPROACH, WHICH WOULD REQUIRE THE EAST TO REDUCE THREE TIMES AS MANY MEN AS THE WEST AND TO WITHDRAW A SOVIET TANK ARMY AS A UNIT IN PHASE I AGAINST THE WITHDRAWAL OF 29,000 US SOLDIERS TAKEN AS INDIVIDUALS. EASTERN REPS HAVE ALSO CONCENTRATED MUCH RECENT CRITICISM ON THE REFUSAL OF THE WEST TO PROVIDE FOR REDUCTIONS OF ARMAMENTS ACROSS-THE-BOARD, ESPECIALLY AIR AND NUCLEAR ELEMENTS. IN SODOING, THEY HAVE ARGUED THAT THIS GAP IN THE WESTERN PROGRAM WOULD NEITHER EFFECTIVELY DIMINISH THE PRESENT HIGH CONCENTRATION OF ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE NOR PRECLUDE A FUTURE ARMS RACE IN THE AREA.

15. ALTHOUGH SOMEWHAT LESS FREQUENTLY THAN EARLIER IN THE ROUND, EASTERN REPS HAVE CONTINUED TO REMIND THE WEST THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL THAT BOTH SIDES AGREE NOT TO INCREASE THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THEIR ARMED FORCES IN THE AREA DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS REMAINS TOPICAL. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE REAFFIRMED THAT A FREEZE IN ISOLATION WOULD CONTRACTUALIZE EASTERN SUPERIORITY IN MILITARY MANPOWER AND THE WEST COULD ONLY AGREE TO SUCH A FREEZE IN CONNECTION WITH A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT AS PROPOSED BY THE WEST.

16. ALSO WITH SOMEWHAT LESS FREQUENCY OF LATE THAN WAS PREVIOUSLY THE CASE, EASTERN REPS HAVE CONTINUED TO ALLUDE TO THE IDEA THEY ADVANCED EARLY IN THE ROUND THAT IT MIGHT BE WORTHWHILE FOR PARTICIPANTS TO IDENTIFY AREAS WHERE SOME MEASURE

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OF COMMON AGREEMENT HAD BEEN APPROACHED ALONG WITH POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT THAT CALLED FOR COMPROMISE. THEY HAVE NOT ACTIVELY PUSHED THE CONCEPT. RESOR

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04 MAY 2006

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